

Message Text

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E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS: SCUL, UR
SUBJECT: MARCH THEMATIC PROGRAM ON U.S. GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS AND
FOREIGN POLICY: STAG AARON WILDAVSKY

STATE FOR CU/EE; EUR/SOV
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LENINGRAD, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, WARSAW FOR P&C

REF: A. STATE 071470 B. MOSCOW 4518

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. STAG AARON WILDAVSKY, DEAN, POLITICAL
SCIENCE DEPT., U. OF CAL. AT BERKELEY, LECTURED ON U.S.
POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO FOREIGN POLICY
IN MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD MARCH 26-APRIL 4. AT SEVEN INSTITUTES
AND UNIVERSITIES AND IN SOCIAL EVENTS, HE ESTABLISHED RATIONAL
DIALOG WITH INFLUENTIAL SOVIETS AND SIGNIFICANTLY EXTENDED EMBASSY
CONTACT IN THIS SENSITIVE FIELD. POST ALSO ARRANGED FOR CONGRESS-
MEN JOHATHAN BINGHAM AND EDWARD BIESTER TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS
ON "CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY" AT TWO INSTITUTES AND AT DINNER
FOR POLITICAL COMMENTATORS. END SUMMARY

2. MOSCOW UNIVERSITY: AFTER INITIAL CLEARANCE PROBLEMS (SEE
BELOW), MGU GAVE WILDAVSKY TOP DRAWER TREATMENT. CONTRASTING
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WITH MGU NOT-INFREQUENT TACTIC OF SIDETRACKING VISITOR TO SECOND-

RATE, HASTILY ASSEMBLED AUDIENCE, UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS USHERED WILDAVSKY INTO PRESITITIOUS RECTOR'S ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE ROOM WHILE ESCORT CONDUCTED MRS. WILDAVSKY ON CAMPUS TOUR INCLUDING TALKS WITH FRENCH DEPT. A DOZEN DEANS, DEPTUY DEANS, AND SENIOR PROFESSORS FROM LAW, HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY FACULTIES, ALL FLEUNT IN ENGLISH, WELCOMED WIDLAVSKY FOR FORTY-MINUTE TALKS AND TWO-AND-QUARTER HOUR DISCUSSION PERIOD.

3. WILDAVSKY SPOKE ON INSTITUTION OF PRESIDENCY AND ITS RELATION TO CONGRESS, COURTS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND PRESS, AND DESCRIBED HOW INTERACTION THESE ELEMENTS RELATES TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. DESPITE HIGH INFORMATION LEVEL THIS AUDIENCE, WHICH OBVIOUSLY GETS ITS NEWS FROM MORE SOPHISTICATED SOURCES THAN PRAVDA, WILDAVSKY WAS ALBE TO CLARIFY CONVINCINGLY SEVERAL ISSUES ABOUT WHICH AUDIENCE HAD SELDOM OR NEVER TALKED WITH AN AMERICAN. EXTENDED QUESTION PERIOD, RUNNING WELL BEYOND LUNCH TIME, RANGED OVER U.S. ECONOMIC FUTURE, 1976 ELECTIONS, NEW PARTY CONVENTION RULES, VIABILITY OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN VALUES, VIETNAM, NEW LEFT TRENDS, OIL, WATERGATE, WORLD CURRENCY SYSTEM, AND MANY OTHER TOPICS. ATMOSPHERE WAS OPEN-MINDED, WITH GIVE-AND-TAKE ON BOTH SIDES AND VIRTUALLY NO POLEMICS. HARDEST KNOCKS CAME OVER TRADE BILL AND U.S. MOTIVES FOR PASSING PROVISIONS WHICH SOVIETS HAD EARLIER STATED WERE UN-ACCEPTABLE. ON EMMIGRATION, WILDAVSKY EXPLAINED COMPLEX BACK-GROUND IN U.S. POLITICS, SOCIETY AND PHILOSOPHY. ON CREDITS, WILDOSKY MADE POINT THAT CONGRESS WITH MANY BILLS PREFERS FREQUENT REVIEW BUT CUSTOMARILY RAISES LIMITS WHEN NEED DEVELOPS. ASKED HIS VIEW ON FUTURE RE-WORKING OF TRADE BILL, WILDAVSKY SAID HE BELIEVED PROSPECTS GOOD BUT GREATLY DEPENDENT ON HOW U.S. PUBLIC READS WORLD SITUATION; E.G., SHOULD SOVIET POLICIES CONTRIBUTE TO MORE HOSITILE ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTHERN TIER AND MIDDLE EAST, PUBLIC CONCERN LIKELY TO BE FOCUSED ON HIGHER DEFENSE BUDGET RATHER THAN TRADE AGREEMENT. WIDLAVSKY ALSO POINTED OUT OBJECTIVELY THAT SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES SUCH AS HARASSMENT OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS (MILITIA INCIDENT AT MOSCOW SYNOGOGUE TWO DAYS BEFORE WAS FRESH IN MIND) HAD INEVITABLE EFFECT ON U.S. PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD AGREEMENTS WITH USSR. POINT WAS DIGESTED WITHOUT RANCOR. SOVIETS ALSO HAD MANY SERIOUS AND CONCERNED QUESTIONS ABOUT SENATOR JACKSON'S ROLE ON U.S. SCENCE. WILDAVSKY SAID LATER LEVEL OF DISCUSSION WAS BEST HE COULD HAVE HOPED FOR AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WE BELIVE ALL PARTICIPANTS FOUND IT THOUGH-PROVOKIING AND PROFITABLE.

4. USSR COUNCIL OF HISTORIANS AND INSTITUTE OF GENERAL HISTORY: THIS COMBINED MEETING, CHAIRED BY COUNCIL CHAIRMAN, ACADEMICAIN Y.M. ZHUKOV, CONSISTED OF A TWO-AND-A-HALF HOUR DISCUSSION WITH TOP HISTORIANS IN AMERICA STUDIES. ATMOSPHERE WAS EQUALLY OBJECTIVE AND OPEN. QUESTIONS FOCUSED ON U.S. LOCAL GOVERNMENT,

MINORITIES, BLACK NATIONALISM, REGIONALISM, SOCIAL MOBILITY, CHANGING FEDERAL-LOCAL RELATIONS, REVENUE SHARING, SEX AND MINORITY QUOTA CONFLICTS, AND U.S. CAPACITY OF DIFFUSE CONFLICT BY LOCAL FRAGMENTATION OF ISSUES AND BY ADAPTATION TO DIVERSITY AS OPPOSED TO UNIFORMITY. DISCUSSION ON PRESIDENCY REVOLVED AROUND CHANGING DEFINITIONS OF AUTHORITY, SUCH AS HISTORICAL STATUS OF EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS, AND VITAL ROLE OF TRUST AS GLUE WHICH HOLDS SYSTEM TOGETHER. WILDAVSKY MADE POINT IN ALL MEETINGS THAT, WHILE U.S. INSTITUTIONS NOW DIVIED OVER CURRENT ISSUES AND PRIORITIES, DEEP NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON BASICS STILL EXISTS AND QUICKLY WOULD PUT DEBATE IN BACKGROUND IF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICIES CONTRIBUTED TO U.S PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT. WILDAVSKY VIVIDLY PORTRAYED, TO AUDIENCE WHICH READS AND VIEWS NEGATIVE U.S. NEWS EVERY DAY, A SENSE OF DEEP U.S. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL STRENGTHS. HIS VERY FRANKNESS AND SINCERITY IN ANALYZING OUR MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS MADE A PERSUASIVE CASE THAT THEY ARE MANAGEABLE AND THAT U.S. IS NOT ON BRINK OF DISASTER. LIFE IS PROBLEMS, HE SAID; WE HAVE THESE TODAY AND OTHERS TOMORROW, BUT DON'T MISJUDGE THE STRENGHTS.

5. INSTITUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT:
DURING A TWO-HOUR CALL ON THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR AND SECTION HEADS, DISCUSSION TOUCHED ON SOCIAL CHANGES AMONG AMERICAN WORKERS, SOCIAL SECURITY AND GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES, U.S. ECONOMIC SCENE, AND MANY OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES MENTIONED ABOVE. OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO SOVIETS WAS WILDAVSKY'S VIEW OF CONTEMPORARY MORAL AND WORK VALUES AMONG AMERICAN PUBLIC AND RELATION TO PRODUCTIVITY. HE ANALYZED RECENT RESEARCH AND COMMENT ON TRENDS. SOVIETS HERE, AS AT OTHER INSTITUTES, ASKED WILDAVSKY TO COMPARE U.S. SOCIAL ATTITUDES NOW WITH THOSE DURING NEW DEAL. WHILE NO SOVIETS WERE CONVERTED DURING DISCUSSION, BELIEVE WILDAVSKY'S PRESENTATION MADE THEM MORE REALISITC IN THEIR UNDERTANDING OF U.S. TRENDSZ.

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6. INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND MATHEMATICS: WILDAVSKY MET WITH A DOZEN EXPERTS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT PLANNING AND BUDGETING, ANOTHER OF HIS SPECIALITIES. IN A FREE-SWINGING EXCHANGE IN WHICH WILDAVSKY POKED FUN AT PPBS, SOVIETS ADMITTED TO HAVING BEEN RAKED OVER THE COALS WHEN THEIR MATHEMATICAL MODELS PRODUCED FOR INDUSTRIAL PLANNING FAILED TO MATCH ECONOMIC REALITY. SAVING METHOD ADAPTED BY INSTITUTE WAS PLANNING FOR DECENTRALIZATION OF DECISION-MAKING, BUT THEY LAMENTED THAT NECESSARY INFORMATION FED UP FROM LOCAL LEVEL OFTEN FALSE. NEVERTHELESS, INSTITUTE SOON WILL MOVE INTO NEW 14-STORY BUILDING WITH SEVERAL-HUNDRED MEMBER STAFF.

7. USA INSTITUTE: TALK AND DISCUSSION HERE WAS MOST DISAPPOINTING OF SERIES, WITH MORE RIGID AND ORTHODOX IDEOLOGUES REPEATING TIRED CLICHES WITHOUT GENUINE INTERACTION CHARACTERISTIC OF UNIVERSITY AND OTHER INSTITUTES. MINDS SEEMD LESS OPEN AND IN SOME CASES LESS INTELLIGENT, AND AN EMBASSY OBSERVER WONDERED WHAT QUALITY OF ANALYSES THESE EXPERTS PASSED UPWARDS. OTHER FACTORS AFFECTING THE QUALITY OF USA INSTITUTE AUDIENCE WERE SHORT LEAD TIME AND A RATHER HO-HUM ATTITUDE TOWARD THIS MODERATELY WELL-KNOW ACADEMIC BY INSTITUTE WHICH HOSTED SHRIVER THE DAY BEFORE AND GALBRITH THE DAY AFTER, AND WHICH HAS REGULAR PROGRAM OF NOTED AMERICAN SPEAKERS.

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8. SOCIAL EVENTS: DCM HELD DINNER FOR CONGRESSMEN BINGHAM AND BIESTER AND PROFESSOR WILDAVSKY TO TALK WITH POLITICAL COMMENTATORS FROM SOVIET PRESS. (CONGRESSMEN'S CALLS ON INSTITUTES REPORTED SEPTEL.) THE CONGRESSMEN, ALONG WITH PROFESSOR WILDAVSKY, MADE A STAUNCH AND NICELY VARIED TRIO IN FIELDING FORTHRIGHT AFTER-DINNER QUESTIONS BY THE SOVIET COMMENTATORS IN A RELAXED LIVING ROOM SETTING. OVER COFFEE AND BRANDY, THE VISITORS MADE BRIEF INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS ABOUT CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY. THEN MELOR STURUA, IZVESTIYA'S

AGILE DEPUTY FOREIGN EDITOR AND COMMENTATOR, LED QUESTIONING, BACKED MOSTLY BY PRAVA FOREIGN EDITOR VADIM NEKRASOV AND NOVOSTI VICE-PRESIDENT (FOR CAPITALIST COUNTRIES) MIKHAIL SAGETELIAN. THEY HOMED IN ON DETENTE, AND CONGRESS'S ROLE THEREIN, ASKING POINTED QUESTIONS RELATED TO JACKSON AMENDMENT VOTING AND INDICATING CLEARLY IN THE PROCESS THAT THESE SPOKESMEN WERE FULLY FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS; THOUGH THEY HELD OUT NO HOPE FOR AN EARLY ALTERATION OF THE TERMS OF THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT UNLESS SOVIET PERFORMANCE DEMONSTRATED THAT IT IS UNNECESSARY. BIESTER AND WILDAVSKY WENT ON THE DEFINE DETENTE CLEARLY FROM EACH POINT OF VIEW, AND WITH THE ATTENDANT EXCHANGES, SHOWED UP THE EVENING'S BEST ASPECT: A DEFINING OF POINTS OF VIEW, OPENLY AND WITH AN AWARENESS OF EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS. THIS DEPARTURE FROM THE DINNER-CIRCUIT NORM SEEMD TO STIMULTE AND PLEASE BOTH SOVIETS AND AMERICANS PRESENT. SHORTLY AFTER WILDAVSKY ARRIVED, CAO GAVE LUNCH FOR AMERICAN STUDIES SCHOLARS AND INSTITUTE REPRESENTATIVES TO FACILITATE PROFESSIONAL DICUSSION AND PROGAM ARRANGEMENTS.

9. PROGRAM ARRANGEMENTS: AFTER VISA PROBELM SOLVED (REF B AND PREVIOUS), AND LAYER OF BUREAUCRATIC RESISTANCE IN MOSCOW BROKEN THROUGH, INSTITUTES AND UNIVERSITIES WERE EAGER TO HAVE THIS DIRECT CONTACT WITH ARTICULATE EXPERT IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY. DURING VISA UNCERTAINTY, POST HELD OFF PROGRAM ARRANGMENTS TO AVOID EMBARRASSEMENT EXPERIENCED WITH FRANKEL NON-VISIT, WHICH UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS WHO HAD ACCEPTED HIM AS SPEAKER BEGAN TO WONDER IF THEY HAD DONE SOMETHING WRONG IF SOVIET GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ISSUE VISA. LATE START CAUSED PROGRAM DELAY AT FIRST, BUT AFTER INITIAL CONTACTS WE COULD HAVE CONTINUED WITH OTHER PROGRAMS FOR SEVERAL MORE DAYS. SIGNIFICANTLY, MFA CULT DIV, AT EMBSSY REQUEST, GAVE MIN HIGHER ED PERMISSION TO APPROVE LECTURE AT LENINGRAD UNIVERSITY WHEN MHE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OFFICIAL SAID SUCH AN INSTRUCTION TO LGU WAS "BEYOND HIS COMPETENCE." MGU ARRANGEMENTS NOW CAN BE MADE WITHOUT CLEARING THOURH MHE, AS FORMERLY REQUIRED. SOME INSTITUTES UNDER ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ASKED THAT EMBASSY MAKE ARRANGEMENT THROUGH ACADEMY FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE. HOWEVER, WHEN THAT OFFICE FAILED TO CALL BACK OR WAS UNREACHABLE (A FREQUENT AND POSSIBLY NON-POLITICAL PROBLEM), EMBASY WAS ABLE TO MAKE PROGRAM ARRANGEMENTS THROUGH DIRECTORS OR DEPUTY DIRECTORS OF INSTITUTES. ONLY FAILURE WAS IN EFFORT TO HAVE WILDAVSKY AND CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM SPEAK AT MID'S INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WHICH TOLD EMBASSY IT COULD NOT BE ARRANGED "BECAUSE STUDENTS HAD NOT REQUESTES SUCH TALKS."

10. FOLLOW-UP: EMBASSY REQUESTING BOOKS AND ARTICLES TO FOLLOW UP CONTACTS MADE BY WILDAVSKY. WE INTEND TO REQUEST OTHER SPEAKERS IN SIMILAR FIELDS AND WILL PROPOSE A BINCENTENNIAL

SPEAKER SERIES IN FORTHCOMING COUNTRY PLAN. IT IS HOPED SERIES
CAN ATTRACT WELL-KNOWN NON-ACADEMIC COMMENTATORS ON AMERICAN IN
ADDITION TO UNIVERSITY SPECILISTS LIKE WILDAVSKY.

11. LENINGRAD REPORTNG SEPTTEL.
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